1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

a part of these family shrines just as they were of the tribal *me'ae* (14, p. 59). Melville (23, p. 204) mentions "little temples," where offerings were seen "spread out upon the rude altar or hanging in half-decayed baskets . . . [and, also] images." Garcia (14, p. 59) describes family shrines as follows:

> Besides these latter temples [the larger tribal ones, *me'ae*] which are fortunately not numerous, there are found on the roads, in the crossways and near some houses, a great many altars bearing food offerings and surrounded by long bundles of white stakes, about which fluttered bits of cloth of all colors. These altars, ordinarily surrounded by a little wall of dry stones which protects them, or elevated on a pile of stones, are approcahed only by the priests.

At these shrines were images of the same kind as those at the larger *me'ae*.

Other Adjuncts to Dwellings

There remains to be mentioned only the pit for breadfruit paste *(ua ma)*—a well-like pit five or more feet deep and three or four in diameter, the walls of which as a rule were merely of earth, though some of the pits were lined with beach boulders. The use of these pits is described in connection with food preservation and cooking.

About the family precincts were the breadfruit and coconut trees belonging to different members of the family and small enclosures in which were planted sugar cane and paper mulberry for making cloth, and in some places enclosures for pigs, although the pigs as a rule ran free.

PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS AND RELATIONSHIP TERMS

In primitive times the native system of relationship in the Marquesas was very different from the European. *Hua'a (huaka)* meant specifically blood and foster relatives, though extended in general application to all the members of the tribe, and even of related tribes. The same word meant also troupe or band (8).

A man's more or less permanent mate was his *vehine* (woman). If she had been betrothed and married to him with formal rites she was his *vehine tuia*. *Tuia* meant, literally, betrothed, and was applied to those formally affianced in childhood. A man also called all his wife's sisters and all his brothers' wives his *vehine*, and according to native convention he had the right of sexual relationship with them, provided he had the consent of the men with whom they were living as constant mates. In a more general sense every man of marriageable age applied the term *vehine* to all women of marriageable age. *Vehine*, in its broadest translation, meant simply woman.

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

252 what as skate, though it can only be kept one day. It is cut into cubes, salted, saturated with lime juice, tied up in fau leaves, and kept until the next day, when it is a gluey mass. This is quite palatable.

Various sea-birds—the *tara*, the *noio*, the *ka*, the *upe* (large wild pigeon), the *keuhe* (snipe)—are braised, being speared on a slender stick, after plucking, and turned as on a spit over charcoals. In modern times chickens (*moa*) are boiled in coconut milk or fried, but it seems doubtful that they were eaten in the old days. On Hiva Oa, the natives say that chickens belonged to the priests, and were never eaten. Langsdorff (18, [237] p. 176) says that poultry were not much in request for food, their plumage only being desired.

Pig (*pua'a, puaka*) is, of course, the staple meat, the principal dish at all feasts and saved for special occasions even in ancient times, as Porter testified (24, p. 113).

> For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts, and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion, and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

●[231] The same writer says that they castrate the boars to improve their size (24, p. 91). Pigs are not stuck, but are hung and strangled so that the blood remains in the animals. A small slit is made in the stomach, just large enough to insert the hand and pull out the bowels, the liver and lights being left in. The bowels are washed, rubbed on stones in the river, turned wrong-side out on a small stick, and cleaned. These are baked separately and eaten with *popoi*. If the pig is sufficiently large a few hot [184] stones are placed in it (on Nuku Hiva though not on Hiva Oa) to aid the cooking, and it is placed on leaves (8) in the oven on its stomach—not on its back as is the Tahitian custom—the hot stones having been covered with *kokuu* leaves, guava sticks, and a layer of earth to keep the animal from burning or baking too hard. Melville (23, p. 187) describes the process as follows:

> Having got thus far in the matter, the body was removed to a little distance; and, being disembowelled, the entrails were laid aside as choice parts, and the whole carcass thoroughly washed with water. An ample thick green cloth, composed of the long thick leaves of a species of palm-tree, ingeniously tacked together with little pins of bamboo, was now spread upon the ground, in which the body being carefully rolled it was borne to an oven previously prepared to receive it. Here it was at once laid upon the heated stones at the bottom, and covered with thick layers of leaves, the whole being quickly hidden from sight by a mound of earth raised over it.

252 It is commonly said in Taiohae that the people of Tai-pi living up-
621 valley were not allowed by the hostile lower valley tribe to go down to the

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

thrown away. Seven small sticks of *fau* were peeled and ornamented with bands of white cloth, the seventh being discarded. All of these articles were assembled, six of each kind, and buried near the post. This rite was supposed to make the chickens thrive. Père Pierre (4) relates that sometimes a man could feed his pigs on pork and fish to put them in a better condition. I infer that there were magical practices connected with this custom though they are not described.

Transference of a Spell

The following account is interesting as an example of a transference of a spell. A native woman doctor had been called to heal the hand of an old white resident. The grandson of this resident, a mischievous boy, interfered with and angered the practitioner in the course of her work A short time afterwards the affliction that had been healed for the grandmother appeared on the arms and hands of the boy. Nothing could be done to relieve his suffering. After a time, someone came to the grandmother and told her that the *tau'a* who had doctored her hand had cast the spell upon her grandchild, and furthermore, that this *tau'a* was at that moment upon her deathbed and that if she did not relieve the spell from the boy before she passed away he could not be healed. The grandmother then went to the *tau'a* and persuaded her to remove the spell. This she did before she died, and the boy's hands and arms healed. No one knew what the woman doctor did to lay this spell or to transfer it, or what she did, before she died, to remove it.

Removal of a Spell

On Hiva Oa when one was afflicted by *nati kaha*, a present called *kahaape taetae* was given to a *tau'a* to reveal who the *tuhuna* was who had laid the spell. It was then necessary by means of gifts to persuade the *tuhuna* to remove it.

The following account of the casting and removal of a spell laid on a white man, the captain of a trading schooner, is vouched for by white residents. The spell was worked by a *tuhuna nati kaha*, an old woman of Hiva Oa, at the behest of a native whose wife had been taken off by the white man. The native wanted revenge. The usual method was used—that is to say, a piece of clothing belonging to the white man was buried, with the proper incantations, in a hole in the ground under ashes and earth. The eyes of the victim were thereupon afflicted, so that for months he had to wear a bandage over them. Finally a young native offered to find the cause of this trouble. He built a fire, sat down before it, and watched the flames, calling it *te ahi na te etua*, the fire of the god. He

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

778 Wanting to take other things, the natives interfered, saying they must not take anything, showing that they respected that house and the figures.

501 Outside the village they had some very long and well-made canoes of a single tree, with the form of a keel, bow, and stern, and with boards well fastened with ropes made from cocoa fibre. In each one there is room for thirty or forty natives as rowers; and they gave us to understand, when they were asked, that they went in these large canoes to other lands. They work with adzes, which they make [321 of thick fish-bones and shells. They sharpen them with 324] large pebbles, which they have for the purpose.

132 The temperature, health, vigour, and corpulence of these people tell what the climate must be under which they live. One suffers cold at night, but the sun does not cause much molestation by day. There were some showers, not heavy; dew was never felt, but very great dryness, so much so that wet things, when left out all night on the ground, were found quite dry in the morning. But we could not tell whether this was so all the year round.

231 They saw pigs, and fowls of Castille, and the fishery is certain wherever there is sea.

241 The trees which have been mentioned as being in the open space before the village yield a fruit which reaches to the size of a boy's head. Its colour, when it is ripe, is a clear green, and when unripe it is very green. The rind has crossed scales like a pineapple, its shape not quite round, being rather more narrow at the end than near the stem. From the stem grows a leaf-stalk reaching to the middle of the fruit, with a covering sheath. It has no core nor pips, nor anything uneatable except the skin, and that is thin. All the rest is a mass of pulp when ripe, not so much when green. They feed much upon it in all sorts of [262] ways, and it is so wholesome that they call it white food. It is a good fruit and of much substance. The leaves of

4: Fernandez de Quiros T-5 (1595)1904
OX6 Marquesas OX6

island may be 6 leagues round; we passed by it on the S. side; this is high, precipitous towards the sea, with rocky ravines, in which the natives dwell. There seemed to be many inhabitants in it, for we saw them on the rocks and beach; so we went on making for the other three islands. The first, to which was given the name of San Pedro, will be 10 leagues from Magdalena, and runs with it northward and to the point N.W.: it will have 3 leagues circuit. It is an island beautiful to look at, with much wood and fair fields: we did not know whether it was inhabited, for we did not come close to it. To the S.E. of it, about 5 leagues off, is another, which the General named Dominica; it is very fair to look at, and seemed thickly inhabited: it may have about 15 leagues circumference; and to the S. of this, and a matter of little more than a league off, is another island, which may be 8 leagues round, which received the name of Santa Christina; and our fleet passed through the channel between this and the other island. For all that we saw of these islands is clear sailing; and on the W. side of Sta. Christina a good port was found, in which the fleet anchored. These natives did not come before me like the others, but some very beautiful women were seen. I did not see them, but persons who had an opinion in the matter affirmed to me that there were as beautiful women as in Lima, but white, and not so tall; and in Lima there are some very pretty. What was seen in the way of victuals in that port was pigs and hens, sweet canes, very good plantains, cocos, a fruit which grows on high trees; each is as large as a large fir cone; it is very good to eat; much of it was eaten—green, roasted and boiled, and when ripened it is indeed so sweet and good a fruit to my way of thinking, that I know no other which has the advantage of it; there is hardly anything in it to throw away, unless a little husk. There was another fruit, like chestnuts in savour, but much

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

penetrated the middle of it, about the height of a man's heart. I then called on all the warriors to try their spears and slings at the same object; but they all shook their heads, as an acknowledgement of the inferiority of their weapons. The Happah was much astonished at the correctness with which we fired, and said he should proceed to hasten his brethren to a reconciliation. I gave him a white handkerchief, which was attached to a spear, and informed him the bearer of that should be respected.

On my return to the camp, I found a large supply of hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, bread-fruit, tarra, and sugar-cane, with several roots of kava, partly the plunder of the Happahs, but chiefly the contributions of the tribe of Tieuhy.

CHAPTER XIV

Madison's Island.

The hogs of this island are generally of a small and inferior breed, but there are many as large and as fine as those of any part of the world. The practice of castrating the boars, at which the natives are very dexterous, greatly improves their size and appearance, as well as their flavour. The pork is remarkably sweet and delicate, many of the smaller kind of hogs were brought to us, which we rarely killed, the larger ones were brought in such numbers toward the latter part of our stay, as to enable me to feed my people entirely on fresh provisions. Of these last, six were found fully sufficient to furnish an ample daily supply to four hundred men.

According to the traditions of the natives, more than twenty generations ago,* a god named Haii visited all the islands of the group, and brought with him hogs and fowls, which he left among them. He first appeared at Hataootooa Bay, which lies on the east side of the island, and there dug for water, which he found. The tree under which he resided, during his stay, is held sacred by the natives, and is called by them Haii. They cannot tell whether he came in a ship or a canoe, nor can they tell how long he remained among them.

It may be worthy of remark here, that the natives call a white man *Othouah*, and their gods bear the same appellation, as do their priests after their death. A white man is viewed by

* It must be observed, that a man is here a grandfather at the age of fifty, and sometimes much less: hence three generations exist within that period, which would make, agreeable to their computation, about three hundred or three hundred and thirty years.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
OX6 Marquesas OX6

The men and women are both remarkably fond of pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them,

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

fastened a bunch of bananas, a piece of white cloth manufactured on the island, and a square fan. Being under sail, I did not like to be surrounded by too many of these savages, and I therefore signified that a few only were to come on board. The chief, as soon as he comprehended my orders, jumped out of his canoe into the water, and climbed up the ship with astonishing alacrity. As soon as he was on the quarter-deck, he sat himself down, and presented me with the bunch of bananas, and the cloth that had been fastened to the stick. I was going to put on his head a cap of striped stuff; but he refused the honour, and begged a knife, which was given him with a pair of ear-rings, made of two copeks, which is the smallest Russian copper money. One of my officers made him a present of a small looking-glass, which delighted him so much, that I thought he would have lost his senses. Our new guests behaved with the same familiarity as the preceding ones. They were all perfectly honest in the exchange of articles, and so docile, that no one left the ship without asking my permission. 1804. May.

[231] I showed them fowls and pigs; the fowls they called *moa*, and the pigs *boaga*, intimating by signs that there were plenty of both on shore; but, from their surprise at the sight of our sheep and goats, I inferred that they had never till then seen such animals.

We steered all the morning of the 9th to the southward, in the hope of reaching the bay of Tayohaia towards evening; but at noon we were becalmed, and gave up the idea of being at anchor before night. 9th.

During the night, the rain was so heavy, that a dozen casks

6: Lisiansky T-5 (1803-1806) 1814 OX6 Marquesas OX6

648 arrived, with presents of fruit. There were also many islanders swimming round the vessel with fruit, which they wished to dispose of: there were women amongst them; but it was signified to them, that I had resolved to admit none of their sex on board till the ship should be ready for sea, and at sun-set they swam back with the rest. 1804. May.

[481]

648 831 The next day, as soon as it was light, we were surrounded by a still greater multitude of these people. There were now a hundred females at least; and they practised all the arts of lewd expression and gesture, to gain admission on board. It was with difficulty I could get my crew to obey the orders I had given on this subject. Amongst these females were some not more than ten years of age. But youth, it seems, is here no test of innocence; these infants, as I may call them, rivalled their mothers in the wantonness of their motions and the arts of allurement.

648 About seven o'clock the traffic for cocoa-nuts, bread-fruit, bananas, and different articles of curiosity, began, and was continued briskly till noon. Of the three first commodities, I obtained a considerable quantity, at a cheap rate, giving only, for seven nuts, and a bunch of bananas and bread-fruit, a piece of an old iron hoop, not more than five inches long. At eight o'clock two canoes arrived, with the king in one, and his uncle in the other. They brought with them four pigs, which they wished to exchange for two of our English sheep; but finding me averse to this, the canoes took them back on their return. I offered, as a present to the king, some axes, knives, and other articles; but he would only take a striped cap, observing, as he

[231]

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

FIBER AND CORDAGE

The material most commonly used for Marquesan cordage appears to have been the bark of the fau tree. The bark was obtained from young shoots two inches or less in diameter and was prepared as follows: The stripped bark was soaked for several days in a taro patch or in the backwater of a stream, left until the membrane connecting the inner and outer bark had been destroyed and the outer layer had begun to decay. The inner bark was then separated, scraped, and soaked for two or three days in fresh running water. It was then spread out and dried in the sun. Almost every native household has a bundle of this dried bark, strips of which are used for all the purposes for which Europeans employ string.

True cordage was made from the dried bark by either twisting or plaiting. Heavy rope was twisted from two or usually three strands. In manufacture the direction of rotation was the same as in European rope. In order to make the rope smooth and of uniform diameter, the bark was cut in lengths of two or three feet which were worked in gradually as the twisting progressed. The finished product was somewhat softer and more flexible than a hemp rope and when new was almost equally strong, but it did not wear as well as hemp. Twisted bark rope is still manufactured to a limited extent. The heaviest made is about one inch in diameter. In ancient times much larger ropes were made, but no examples seem to have survived. Light cords and small strings were made by rolling the bark on the thigh.

Small ropes and heavy cords were usually plaited, the bark being prepared as in rope twisting except that it was not cut into short lengths.

The strands were first loosely knotted together and held by the toes until enough cord had been braided to permit of attachment to a tree or post. The plaiting was then done in the ordinary European direction, that is, toward the workman. In cords ending in a flat loop the body of the cord was frequently twisted and the loop plaited. Three, four, six, seven, and eight strand plaits were used, but only the three and four strand plaits, called respectively *tou'a* and *fofii*, were used for ordinary cordage.

Rope of seven strands was used for certain ceremonial purposes (32). The six and eight strand plaits form flat bands, and are still used for the leg ends of pig tethers. (See Pl. LXV, *A*.) Although most of the natives are familiar with these techniques, none of the informants questioned were able to give a name for them.

Practically all fau bark cordage was utilitarian, although slender black cord of this material was used with other material in a few ornaments. In the feather headdress (*paekua*) it was plaited with tapa cord to form a black and white edging. The cords of the large fish net (*upena*) were dyed red with earth

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6

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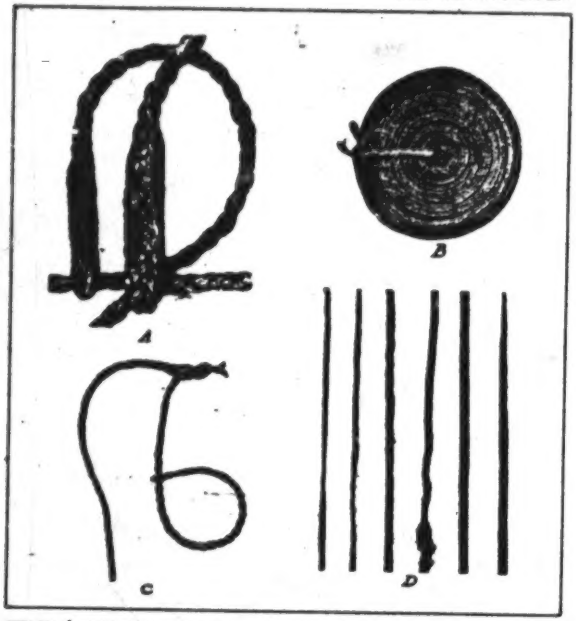

CORDAGE: *A*, LOOPS OF PIG TETHERS SHOWING KINDS OF PLAITING; *B*, ROLL OF CORD USED FOR SNARES; *C*, PIG TETHER OF PAU BARK; *D*, COCONUT FIBER CORD.

[end plate 26]

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

245 the second harvest; each household put down as much as it
251 wanted. In good years the breadfruit harvest was more than enough for everyone, and in a run of good years the pits would be kept full. Considerable labor was necessary at the time of
[461] the harvest, but in the intervals there was little agricultural labor, and the men fished and amused themselves as best they could.

421 The concept of property was very strongly developed and all objects were individually owned. At the same time there was recognition of the paramount rights of the group, whether family or tribe. When the interest of the group was thus involved, one might not hold out property without committing offense.
[423] Land was administered by the chief for the benefit of the tribe, but trees and crops were individually owned. Until the crops were gathered in, each man retained his individual ownership, but as soon as the goods had been brought into the house, they belonged to the family and were prorated by the household head as needed. Although everyone was well aware of the ownership of every object, wealth was concentrated in the hands of family heads and eldest children, who became, theoretically, heads of the household from the moment they were born.

423 Agricultural property was vested not in land but in trees or gardens, which might be scattered all over the valley, a circumstance which caused considerable confusion when the French tried to take over certain land. The natives were ready to give
224 up the land but claimed the trees. Birds and a few wild pigs furnished the only game on the islands. The wild boars were ferocious beasts, and were hunted in a manner which was a test of sportsman's courage. The boar was driven down a mountain path on which the hunters would wait, knife in hand, to attack the animal as it charged.

231 Domesticated pigs, although not an important economic asset here, deserve special mention. Since a pig had to be fed on the same sort of food as human beings and in the same amount, keeping a pig was equivalent to adding another member to the family. A pig, therefore, was not simply a pig, but a pig

10: Linton E-5 (1920-1921)1939
OX6 Marquesas OX6

plus the food and labor that his care had involved. His importance was ceremonial rather than practical. These animals were considered essential to all rites of adoption, marriages, funerals, and various other feasts. The place which the head of a household achieved in the next world was directly dependent upon the number of pigs which were sacrificed at the commemorative ceremonies held for him some time after his death.

Chickens were of little economic importance. Eggs were never eaten; the fowl themselves served as food only occasionally, and were never included in the menu at important feasts. Cocks were valued chiefly for their iridescent feathers, which were used for headdresses and much prized.

Fishing was the main source of flesh food and was highly organized on a common basis. Each tribe had its sacred place for fishermen with a shrine and a master fisherman, who was also a priest. His duties included proper care of the fishing gear and images, and the keeping of the taboos which surrounded the fishermen during their time of service. At this period the men lived in a sacred enclosure which women were forbidden to enter, and no man could have contact with women or with anything made by women during this time.

The fishing canoes were individually owned, but the catch was divided on communal lines. The first fish were set aside for the fisherman-priest and the special gods; after that, what remained was prorated among the population. Shell-fishing could be engaged in by anyone at any time, but big fishing was always communal. Single canoes were warned against going out alone, for some fishing banks were ten or twenty miles from land, and a single canoe could easily be cut off by enemies. Most of the fishing was done with giant nets which were let down between the boats. The big fish, rays, shark, etc., were harpooned and were an important article of diet, although the flesh of the rays was so strong that it had to be hung up for days before it could be eaten. Turtles were highly valued and, for sacrificial purposes, were considered equivalent to a human captive.

11: Cook T-5 (1774)1906
OX6 Marquesas OX6

and answers every purpose modesty requires. The dress of the women is a piece of cloth, wrapped round the loins like a petticoat, which reaches down below the middle of the leg, and a loose mantle over their shoulders. 291

In the article of eating, these people are by no means so cleanly as the Otaheiteans. They are likewise dirty in their cookery. Captain Cook says he saw them make a batter of fruit and roots, diluted with water, in a vessel that was loaded with dirt, and out of which the hogs had been but that moment eating, without giving it the least washing, or even washing their hands which were equally dirty; and when he expressed dislike, was laughed at. 264 515 252 231

Hogs are the only quadrupeds they saw; and cocks and hens were the only tame fowls. However, the woods seem to abound with small birds of a very beautiful plumage and fine notes. 231

With a fine easterly wind they steered till the 17th, when land was seen bearing W. half N., which, upon a nearer approach, they found to be a string of low islets connected together by a reef of coral rocks.

As they steered along the coast, the natives appeared in several places, armed with long spears and clubs, and some were got together on one side of the creek. Two boats well-armed were sent ashore, under the command of Lieutenant Cooper, with a view of having some intercourse with them. They saw them land without the least opposition. Some little time after, however, observing forty or fifty natives, all armed, coming towards the boats, they stood close in shore, in order to be ready to support their people in case of an attack. But nothing of this kind happened; and soon after the boats returned on board, when Mr. Cooper informed the Captain that, on his landing, only a few of the natives met him on the beach, but there were many in the skirts of the woods with spears in their hands. The presents he made them were received with great coolness, which plainly showed they were unwelcome visitors. They brought on board five dogs, which seemed to be in plenty there. They saw no fruit but cocoa-nuts, of which they got by exchanges two dozen.

This island, which is called by the inhabitants Tiookea, was discovered and visited by Commodore Byron. It has something of an oval shape, and is about ten leagues in circuit.

[pp 168 to end, not processed]

/35 cont./ 836
for the evening. In addition to such special data, young males 883
possess an incredible fund of precise knowledge concerning the interior lay-out of every house of interest in the valley and the idiosyncracies of husbands, parents, siblings and children of the females in question. Even the household animals have been thoroughly observed. In observing two of these expeditions, I received a demonstration of the value of this type of knowledge. In one house, the parents of the girl slept on the veranda [342] to scare away prowlers. They were known to copulate at approximately the same time each night. The male who wished to enter the house waited until the sounds of copulation died away, then approached the house. A dog belonging to the family [231] barked. It was necessary to stand still at that point for the dog to approach and examine the visitor, after which the dog would cease barking. A whisper through the side of the house then informed the girl of the presence of the suitor. Had she wished to receive him he would have mounted the veranda, passed the sleeping parents and entered /36/ the house. In the particular instance observed, however, the girl did not admit her lover. He forthwith unlocked the cookhouse door, removed a rickety chair, placed it beneath her window, climbed on it throwing a flower through the window onto her stomach; afterwards replacing the chair in the cookhouse.

Adolescent girls do not go out in groups at night, but remain in their homes except when errands are required or attendance at church is necessary. The males must come to them at night.

Older adolescent girls sometimes leave home and live 883
in groups, analogous to those of the boys, generally residing 591
in a vacant house owned by the family of one of their number, or using the house of a permissive and often closely related young married pair as a base of operations. There is a decided social stigma attached to such behavior, however, [626] and such girls are known as vehine mako -- rutting women.

They seldom are able to find a permanent mate despite 883
the large numbers of transitory arrangements into which they 589
enter. They often live on marginal subsistence rations, if